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ABSTRACT

Enrollment changes between 1970 and 1976 in the 504 public school districts in Pennsylvania were examined in light of "turnaround" (revival of growth in nonmetropolitan areas). Each district was classified into one of four categories according to the size of the largest urban place in the district, so that enrollment changes within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties could be examined. The general "turnaround" literature was supported in that there were higher rates of growth in nonmetropolitan counties. On the average, more rural school districts were growing while all other district categories were declining. "Turnaround" was not happening everywhere; many rural communities were still losing population. As the category of decline increased, local revenue sources were depended on more, and per pupil expenditures became higher. However, school enrollment changes (both decline and growth) provide opportunity for rethinking the role of the school as a "mechanism for rural development." Schools, especially in rural communities, are key institutions. Decline in number of students need not imply decline in commitment to or quality of public education. The potential for strengthened education programs and more viable communities is clearly present if we can get beyond negative connotations of decline and unquestioning faith in the goodness of growth. (BRR)

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Staff Paper #28

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The Case of the Public Schools

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Population Change and Community Services: The Case of the Public Schools

Dan E. Moore and Theodore R. Alter

This paper was prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, August 24-26, 1979 Burlington, Vermont

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Population Change and Community Services:
The Case of the Public Schools

Two demographic phenomena are interacting to alter drastically the pattern of demand for elementary and secondary schooling in this country. The one receiving the most attention recently by rural sociologists and others is the "turnaround," the revival of growth in nonmetropolitan areas (Beale, 1975; Zelinsky, 1978). One would expect schools to reflect this changing pattern of population migration. However, the phenomenon most responsible for the precipitous drop in total school enrollments is the low birth rate. The lower birth rates in more recent years are in sharp contrast to the high birth rates of the baby boom years.

The primary purpose of this paper is to describe the enrollment changes between 1970 and 1976 in the 504 public school districts in Pennsylvania. Particular attention will be paid to the metropolitan status of the county in which the district is located and to the size of the largest urban place in the district. A secondary purpose is to relate enrollment change to the fiscal characteristics of these school districts. Finally, the implications of these findings for rural schools, rural communities and for community development will be discussed.

Background to the Problem

The post war "baby boom" is over, even if educators and policymakers have been slow to realize it. Births were at a record high from 1946 to 1964; the maximum number of children born occurred in 1957. It is not surprising, then, that the enrollment in elementary schools (K-8) peaked in the country and in Pennsylvania in 1969.

In fact, most of the baby boom children are now through the school systems. Between 1970 and 1976 the number of elementary school children in the nation declined by 9.2 percent (-13.5 percent in Pennsylvania). As this smaller number of elementary students moves through the higher grades, declines will occur there also. Secondary enrollment in Pennsylvania peaked in 1973, and, in 1976, stood at approximately the 1970 level. In the United States secondary enrollments were at an all time high in 1976.

We know that decline will continue at least through the mid-1980's. On the basis of current projections, the birth rate will stay low, but because so many women are in the child bearing years, the number of children born is expected to increase slightly. Nationally, it is possible that by 1995, elementary enrollments will return to the 1969 level (Davis and Lewis, 1978; Fishlow, 1978). However, the Pennsylvania Department of Education projects a 25.0 percent decline in enrollments from 1976 to 1986.

Enrollment declines have created a new management atmosphere for many school officials. No longer are they confronted with the problems of expansion: overcrowding, crash construction programs, broadened curriculum, and split sessions. Instead, these officials are now trying to provide quality education programs while at the same time handling excess space, school building closings, and pressures for budget limitations. They are involved with managing decline, rather than managing growth.

Enrollment declines resulting largely from the "baby bust" may provide the overarching "challenge of the coming decade" (Abramowitz and Rosenfeld, 1978). However, the magnitude of decline (change) varies

tremendously from area to area and from district to district. For example, the decline in enrollments from 1970 to 1975 was 12.9 percent in Iowa and 10.2 in North Dakota. During the same period, total school enrollment was growing 9.8 percent in Arizona, 8.1 percent in Florida, and 7.5 percent in New Hampshire (Leppert and Routh, 1978). And while seventy-one percent of the districts in Pennsylvania were losing students between 1970 and 1976, twenty-nine percent were actually growing in total numbers. Thus there are districts which are experiencing problems of expansion while the media, policymakers, and local citizens who are not aware of differences among districts are beginning to focus on the overall pattern of decline.

There are a number of reasons for the variation in enrollment change among states and among school districts. The reasons include differing age structures of the populations and differing attendance and dropout rates. However, the chief reason for the variation is differing rates of population migration. Thus it is not surprising that Florida and Arizona, two states with rising school enrollments are showing similar growth in terms of migration while Iowa and Kansas are experiencing the greatest outmigration and the largest enrollment declines. School changes parallel net migration rates in these states.

Similarly, within states like Pennsylvania, we would expect areas with net inmigration to show enrollment increases or at least lower levels of decline than those areas of net outmigration. Table 1 shows that the difference in population change between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties in Pennsylvania parallels the national pattern. However, the overall level of increase is much less than the national level. Pennsylvania's metropolitan population was actually decreasing (-.4 percent), 1970 to

1976, compared to the nation (4.7 percent). This reflects the overall level of net outmigration from Pennsylvania and the Northeast to the South and West.

The last line in Table 1 shows that school enrollments are in fact decreasing less rapidly in Pennsylvania's nonmetropolitan counties (-6.0 percent) than in metropolitan counties (-8.5). However, it is not possible to draw the conclusion that this difference is completely the result of differing migration rates. Similarly we cannot conclude that the national decrease of school enrollments (-4.7) is less than Pennsylvania's decrease (-7.9) solely because of net outmigration. Pennsylvania's age structure is somewhat older than the nation's (DeJong and Humphrey, 1976:529) and this also may affect the differential.

Since this difference in school enrollments between metropolitan counties and nonmetropolitan counties (-8.5 percent versus -6.0 percent) is modest, is it necessary to develop an elaborate discussion of what such a difference means for the respective areas? Before drawing a conclusion we decided to elaborate further the distinctions within metropolitan and metropolitan counties.

Counties are the predominant unit used for population analysis largely because most data, especially the intercensual population estimates, are collected on a county basis. However, the process implied by the "turn-around" can occur within counties. There are some very sparsely populated areas within metropolitan counties, particularly in the non-core metro counties. Conversely, there are very urban areas in nonmetropolitan counties. Beale (1976) suggests that, in fact, evidence derived from 1973 revenue sharing estimates shows areas outside of cities over 10,000 growing more rapidly than the cities themselves. Since enrollment data for school districts are actual counts rather than estimates, and because school districts

are units smaller than counties, we can look at areas within metro and nonmetro Pennsylvania counties to examine differential rates of enrollment change.

Data and Variables

The 504 operating school districts in Pennsylvania in 1976 constitute the universe of units analyzed in this paper. Since one objective of this study was to analyze changes between 1970 and 1976, it was necessary to construct comparable units in the two periods. The majority of school consolidations occurred in Pennsylvania before 1969. However, between 1970 and 1976, 96 districts were consolidated into 24 districts. It was possible to aggregate the 1970 data for these 96 districts into 24 pseudo-districts which correspond to the 24 districts in 1976. After spending considerable time checking in detail other name and boundary changes, we are confident that the 504 districts can be compared without these jurisdictional changes distorting the results.

The enrollment figures reported here refer to the head count of students enrolled as of October 1 of the school years 1970-71 and 1976-77. These figures are used for official reports by the Pennsylvania Department of Education, and correlate highly with other enrollment measures such as "average daily membership" and "full-time equivalents" which are sometimes seen in school district data summaries.[1] The financial data reflect expenditures of each district during the school years 1970-71 and 1976-77, and revenues for the 1976-77 school year. Revenue data for 1970-71 were unavailable. We limited our study to the period between 1970-71 and 1976-77 because complete data for more recent years are not available for analysis.[2]

Each of the 504 districts were classified according to the size of the largest urban place[3] in the district in order to examine enrollment changes within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. The most urban

category included the 15 districts containing cities of over 50,000. The defining characteristic of a metropolitan core county is that it include a city of over 50,000. Therefore these "core" districts only occur in metropolitan counties. The next category of districts included those whose largest urban place in 1970 was between 10,000 and 49,999 population; we will refer to these 170 districts as the "large urban" districts. Districts were classified as "small urban" if the size of the largest urban place was between 2,500 and 9,999. Finally, districts in the last category legitimately can be called "rural" since none contains an urban place of over 2,500 population. These four categories form a continuum of urbanness of districts from a rural district with no urban population to the most urban, the core city of a metropolitan county.

Enrollment Changes Within Metro and Nonmetro Counties

Table 2 shows the number of districts in each category of urbanness within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. The percent change in the aggregate number of students in each category is given in the last column. In the last column there is a distinct pattern of increasing loss as the category of urbanness increases. Indeed, in the rural category within metropolitan counties there was actually growth in the aggregate number of students between 1970 and 1976. As we have noted these differences cannot be attributed solely to migration. However, they do tend to confirm Beale's observation that recent evidence has made a "... complete shambles... of the former strongly positive association between density of population and growth" (Beale, 1976:956).

It is important to note that while there is less decline and even growth at the rural end of the continuum, most of the students are in the categories with large declines. Only 22 percent of all students in

1976 went to schools in nonmetropolitan counties. Over 55 percent of all students attend the core and large urban districts in metro areas.

The units of local decision making are actually school districts and not the categories discussed thus far. In Table 3 the emphasis is shifted from aggregate changes to average changes for the school districts. The arithmetic average of the percentage change in total students for the 504 districts was -4.8 percent with a standard deviation of 11.4 percent.

The difference between the aggregate figure of -7.9 and the average of -4.8 implies that some of the larger districts were decreasing a greater than average amount. This was the case in a limited but significant way. For example, the Philadelphia School District was by far the largest district in the state with 260,787 students and declined by 11.5 percent, 1970 to 1976. The Pittsburgh School District was second largest with a 1976 enrollment of 59,849; it declined by 17.6 percent during the same period. The next largest district had only 16,800 students. In fact, the decrease of students in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh represented one quarter of the decrease found in the entire state. We will focus on the average of districts within each category throughout the remainder of this paper.

Another way to examine the pattern of enrollment changes is to classify districts by extent of growth or decline. We have created a three category variable for change. One hundred forty-four (28.6 percent) of the 504 districts actually grew between 1970 and 1976. Approximately 32 percent, 160 of 504, showed a large decline of more than -10 percent. The remaining 40 percent declined a relatively small amount (-10 percent to 0.0 percent).

However, the pattern is more interesting when districts are broken out by type of district (Table 4).

None of the 15 metro, core districts grew. And none of the 27 nonmetro, large urban districts grew. However, a lower percentage of large urban districts in nonmetro counties (44.4 percent) declined a large amount than did large urban in metro counties (52.2 percent). Over half of the districts in each of the two rural categores grew (53.7 percent in metro and 52.5 percent in nonmetro).

In brief, the rural districts and districts including small urban places were likely to be growing between 1970 and 1976. Districts with large urban places were likely to be declining and most were declining more than 10 percent over the period. But as with most generalizations there were exceptions: some rural and small urban place districts were declining, and a small percentage of them were showing extreme decline.

Impacts of Enrollment Change

Studying the impact of enrollment changes is one aspect of analyzing the consequence of population shifts called for by Schwarzweller (1979). We are beginning to get some information on who the recent migrants are and where they come from (Zuiches and Brown, 1978; DeJong and Humphrey, 1976) and why they move (Williams and Sofranko, 1979). However, what these shifts mean for the receiving communities remains to be studied in more depth.

A number of recent studies examined the relationship between population growth and local school districts. Ross and Green (1979) have developed a useful framework for examining the impact of enrollment change on education, specifically rural education. They detail the consequences for school systems in two rural communities experiencing rapid population increase. Not only are the consequences felt within the school systems themselves, but also throughout the entire communities. Problems of space, financing, curriculum and

programs, and general school-community relations were observed (Ross and Green, 1979). Ploch (1978) also describes some of the consequences for education when new immigrants arrive with different interests and new ideas. Hennigh (1978) relates that demands of new migrants for a role in decision making surfaced in the form of a taxpayer revolt against school funding.

These case studies have focused on nonmetropolitan school systems where rapid growth was the order of the day. As we have seen, only in the most rural districts did the percent of growing districts reach fifty percent. Our research does not permit us to go into the depth of detail represented by the case studies. However, by looking at the entire universe of school districts, it is possible to draw more general conclusions.

Of all the issues associated with enrollment change, the fiscal issues are perhaps the most crucial because they are related in one way or another to all aspects of educational programming. And in Pennsylvania, as in other states, expenditures for education constitute a major proportion of state and local expenditures. Elsewhere we have discussed in detail the relationship between enrollment changes and fiscal issues (Alter and Moore, 1979). Here we will focus on only two aspects, one dealing with revenues, one with expenditures.

School revenues come from three major sources, local, state and federal. On the average in 1976-77 Pennsylvania's school districts received one-half of their revenues from local sources. This is of the same magnitude as reported by Fratoe (1978) for the 1972-73 school year for the Middle Atlantic States. Table 5 shows that there was variability among district type in the percent of revenues raised at the local levels. In general, metropolitan districts raised more school revenues locally than nonmetropolitan districts (56.0 percent versus 37.6 percent). And with the exception of the metro core districts, within each of the metro types, the more urban the district

category, the higher the percentage raised locally.

If we focus exclusively on the state and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan totals, the greater the category of decline, the more the dependence on local sources. Why is it important to study these patterns? First, the relative amount raised locally implies the level of local control over resources. Thus nonmetropolitan and rural and growing districts are more dependent on outside resources. For the most part, this means state resources since in no category does the percent from federal sources exceed 8 percent and in most cases is approximately 5 percent (data not presented). Second, local revenues imply the combination of district wealth and district tax effort. Elsewhere we have shown that wealth and tax effort in 1976-77 generally follow the pattern in Table 5 for percent of total revenues raised at the local level (Alter and Moore, 1979). Higher average market values per pupil, 1976-77, and greater mills on market value were found in: metro compared to nonmetro areas, urban compared to rural, and declining compared to growing school districts.[4]

The expenditure side of the school financial picture is even more interesting. The recent findings are consistent in showing that declining districts have higher per pupil expenditures (Alter and Moore, 1979). Table 6 illustrates that the rate of increase in expenditures per pupil is consistently higher in the districts with the greatest decline. The rate of increase is also generally higher in metro compared to nonmetro districts and higher in urban compared to rural districts. (See Table 5 for the few exceptions to this pattern.)

To many legislators and citizens, enrollment declines would seem to alleviate the financial pressures experienced by school districts during the growth years of the 1950's and 60's. Yet, it is not easy for most school

districts to reverse their expenditure patterns. Inflation, teacher tenure and seniority laws, and indivisible school inputs all make expenditure retrenchment difficult. In addition, fewer students mean a loss of state funds under most state school aid formulas. For many districts, this loss of income may be greater than possible expenditure savings associated with few students. For some school districts, this situation may be complicated by political pressures as citizens expect stable or perhaps even smaller local tax contributions to school budgets as enrollments drop off. And, as we have seen the situation is further complicated by the great variability in enrollment changes, especially among types of districts.

Implications for Rural Communities

The research reported here for school districts in Pennsylvania supports the general "turnaround" literature in finding higher rates of growth (in this case, lower levels of decline), 1970-1976, in nonmetropolitan in contrast to metropolitan counties. Further we have demonstrated that within nonmetro and within metro areas, the more rural districts are growing on the average while all other categories of districts are declining. Even if we cannot specifically allocate the differential rates of change to population migration, the fact of the matter is that the demand for educational service as represented by numbers of students is growing more rapidly or declining less in the most rural versus all other areas.

The data presented in this paper also remind us that the "turnaround" is not happening everywhere. Many rural communities are still losing population. Thus any particular community or any particular set of policies cannot fixate either on the general trend of school enrollment declines or on the near euphoria associated with the "rural revival."

It seems to us that school enrollment changes, both the declines and the growth, provide the opportunity for rethinking the role of the school as a

"mechanism for rural development" (Moe and Tamblyn, 1974). The school, especially in rural communities, is a key institution. In many instances the school district may even define the community. But because schools are so heavily funded from outside the community, in some instances, they have been in but not of the community.

Hennigh (1978) and Ploch (1978) both describe situations where new migrants with new ideas and different value systems cause a re-analysis of local schools. On the other hand, declines in enrollment can lead to opportunities for sharing excess facilities, expertise, and other resources. The issues raised by enrollment changes coupled with taxpayer concerns may encourage, even force, school officials and local government officials and citizens to get together.

One additional caveat is appropriate regarding enrollment changes and community development. The concept of development is elusive at best. However one of the confusing and, to us, misleading interpretations is to equate development with growth per se (Moe and Tamblyn, 1974:59). For some persons it almost seems that development problems are on the way to solution since there is a revival of "growth" in nonmetropolitan areas. And conversely, even after the problem of decline in enrollments became well documented, many persons, including educators and school board members, refused to take it seriously. This reluctance was understandable given the previous years of intense commitment to educational growth which took the form of new buildings and expanding budgets. This commitment was supported not only by the numerical pressures of the baby boom but also by elements of our national ideology such as growth, progress, and equality.

Education has been viewed as a means to these ends, as well as an end in itself. In this context, growth is viewed as "good," and decline as "bad."

But the fact is, decline in numbers of students need not imply a decline in commitment to or quality of public education. Some argue that lessening the pressures of sheer numbers of children will free funds for educational enrichment, smaller classes, equalized funding, and generally an emphasis on quality over quantity.

The potential for strengthened educational programs and more viable communities is clearly present if we can get beyond the negative connotations of decline and the unquestioning faith in the goodness of growth. Perhaps more than ever, the fates of the school and of the community are inextricably bound together.

NOTES

1. The county and state enrollment totals reported here are slightly below those reported in official Pennsylvania Department of Education Publications because we present numbers only for students enrolled in school districts, while the official reports include students, mainly special education students, enrolled by regional administrative bodies called Intermediate Units (in 1976) and by county school boards (in 1970). The difference in total enrollment is always less than 2 percent and does not affect the conclusions drawn here. Again, all references in this paper are to all school districts. Generally, students attending Area Vocational and Technical Schools are enumerated in one of the 504 school districts included in the analysis. There are, however, 14 full time vocational-technical schools in the state and their enrollments are excluded from this analysis.
2. The 1970 enrollment data were not published by school district, but were provided to us by the Pennsylvania Department of Education, Bureau of Information Systems. The PDE also furnished 1976 enrollment data and 1976-77 financial data on computer tape. The 1970-71 expenditure data were coded from "Our Schools Today: Public School Financial Statistics Report," Volume II, Number 7, 1970-71.
3. An urban place in Pennsylvania in 1970 is either a city or a borough (similar to a small city or incorporated village or town in other states). For purposes of this classification, areas designated as "unincorporated urban areas" in the 1970 were also considered urban places. If boroughs or unincorporated areas were contiguous, their populations were summed before classifying. Townships or parts thereof were considered places if designated as parts of urbanized areas (applies only to metropolitan counties).

4. We have not related enrollment change to revenue change since revenue data were not available for 1970-71.

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Table 1. Percentage Change in Population and Public School Enrollments for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties, United States and Pennsylvania, 1970-1976.

	Total	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
United States			
Total Population	5.6[a]	4.7[a]	8.0[a]
School Enrollment	-4.7[b]	NA	NA
Pennsylvania			
Total Population	0.5[a]	-.4[a]	4.3[a]
School Enrollment	-7.9[c]	-8.5[c]	-6.0[c]

Source:

[a] A. E. Luloff and T. E. Steahr. "Migration and Its Impacts on the Northeast." University of New Hampshire, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 511, June, 1979.

[b] Harriett Fishlow. "Demography and Changing Enrollments. In Susan Abramowitz and Stuart Rosenfeld, eds., Declining Enrollments: The Challenge of the Coming Decade. Washington, D. C.: National Institute of Education, March, 1978:p. 49.

[c] Pennsylvania Department of Education. Represents enrollments in the 504 operating school districts. See note 1.

Table 2. Change in Aggregate School Enrollment 1970-1976 by Metropolitan Status of County and Type of School District.

Size of Largest Urban Place in School District	Number of School Districts	Aggregate School Enrollments Oct. 1, 1970	Oct. 1, 1976	Percent Change 1970-1976
METROPOLITAN	337	1,837,987	1,682,428	-8.5
Over 50,000	15	548,937	476,468	-13.2
10,000-49,999	143	805,660	723,088	-10.2
2,500-9,999	112	344,694	338,325	- 1.7
Under 2,500	67	138,696	144,047	+ 1.0
NONMETROPOLITAN	167	503,667	473,437	- 6.0
Over 50,000	0	--	--	--
10,000-49,999	27	171,596	153,136	-10.8
2,500-9,999	60	176,837	165,208	- 6.6
Under 2,500	80	155,234	155,093	- 0.1
*TOTAL STATE	504	2,341,654	2,155,865	- 7.9

*See Note 1.

Table 3. Average Total Enrollment Change in Pennsylvania School Districts, 1970-71 to 1976-77, By Metropolitan Status of County and Urbanness of District.

Size of Largest Urban Place in School District	Average Percent Change 1970 to 1976	Number of Districts
METROPOLITAN	-5.2	337
Over 50,000	-14.3	15
10,000-49,999	-10.7	143
2,500-9,999	- 2.3	112
Under 2,500	3.8	67
NONMETROPOLITAN	-4.1	167
Over 50,000	--	--
10,000-49,999	-11.6	27
2,500-9,999	- 7.0	60
Under 2,500	0.6	80
TOTAL STATE	-4.8	504

Table 4. Percent and Number of School Districts Declining and Growing by Metropolitan Status of County and Urbanness of County, 1970-71 to 1976-77.

Size of Largest Urban Place in School District	Large Decline: -10 percent and greater (N of Districts)	Small Decline: 0 to -10 percent (N)	Growth Over 0.0 percent (N)	Total (N)
METROPOLITAN	35.9 (121)	36.5 (123)	27.6 (93)	100.0 (337)
Over 50,000	86.7 (13)	13.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (15)
10,000-49,999	52.2 (79)	32.2 (46)	12.6 (18)	100.0 (143)
2,500-9,999	19.6 (22)	45.5 (51)	34.8 (39)	99.9 (112)
Under 2,500	10.4 (7)	35.8 (24)	53.7 (36)	99.9 (67)
NONMETROPOLITAN	23.4 (39)	46.1 (77)	30.5 (51)	100.0 (167)
Over 50,000	--	--	--	--
10,000-49,999	44.4 (12)	55.6 (15)	0 (0)	100.0 (27)
2,500-9,999	33.3 (20)	51.7 (31)	15.0 (9)	100.0 (60)
Under 2,500	8.8 (7)	38.7 (31)	52.5 (42)	100.0 (80)
TOTAL STATE	31.7 (160)	39.7 (200)	28.6 (144)	100.0 (504)

Table 5. Average Percent of Total Revenues Raised at the Local Level in 1976 and Enrollment Change, 1970-71 to 1976-77, Controlling for Metropolitan Status of County and Urbanness of School District.

Size of Largest Urban Place in School District	Large Decline: -10 percent or greater	Small Decline: 0 to -10 percent	Growth: Over 0.0 percent	Average for Metro-Urbanness Category
METROPOLITAN	61.6 percent	53.4 percent	52.2 percent	56.0 percent
Over 50,000	49.3	60.0	--	50.7
10,000-49,999	67.4	59.7	62.9	64.4
2,500-9,999	56.0	52.2	54.3	53.6
Under 2,500	36.7	43.4	44.6	43.3
NONMETROPOLITAN	43.6	37.1	33.9	37.6
Over 50,000	--	--	--	--
10,000-49,999	43.5	46.7	--	45.3
2,500-9,999	43.8	39.1	43.6	41.4
Under 2,500	43.0	30.4	31.9	32.3
TOTAL STATE	57.2 percent	47.1 percent	45.7 percent	49.9 percent

Table 6. Average Percent Change in Total Expenditures Per Pupil and Enrollment Change 1970-71 to 1976-77, Controlling for Metropolitan Status of County and Urbanness of County.

Size of Largest Urban Place in School District	Large Decline: -10 percent or greater	Small Decline: 0 to -10 percent	Growth: over 0.0 percent	Average for Metro-Urbanness Category
METROPOLITAN	77.0 percent	68.9 percent	67.6 percent	71.5 percent
Over 50,000	73.8	68.3	--	73.1
10,000-49,999	79.0	71.5	70.1	75.5
2,500-9,999	70.6	68.1	67.6	68.4
Under 2,500	80.6	65.7	66.5	67.7
NONMETROPOLITAN	72.8	69.3	66.0	69.1
Over 50,000	--	--	--	--
10,000-49,999	81.3	68.7	--	74.3
2,500-9,999	68.5	69.2	68.1	68.8
Under 2,500	70.5	69.6	65.6	67.6
TOTAL STATE	76.0 percent	69.1 percent	67.1 percent	70.7 percent